DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 377 925 JC 950 061

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TITLE Toward a Classification System for Community Colleges.
PUB DATE Apr 93
NOTE 29p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Council of Universities and Colleges (Portland, OR, April 1993).
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (Opinion/Position Papers, Essays, etc.) (120) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Black Colleges; *Classification; *College Curriculum; *Community Colleges; Commuter Colleges; *Institutional Characteristics; Institutional Research; Metropolitan Areas; Private Colleges; Public Colleges; Residential Colleges; Rural Schools; Suburban Schools; Tribally Controlled Education; Two Year Colleges; Urban Education; Vocational Schools

ABSTRACT

The most widely accepted classification system of institutions of higher education, the Carnegie system, does not provide any sub-groupings for the category of two-year institutions. This lack of precision has inhibited the understanding of the diversity among and between community colleges, their missions, functions, curricula, students, and faculty. Based on research and site visits at 92 colleges between 1986 and 1993, 14 distinct types of community colleges can be identified based on geographic location, special populations served, type of governance, and public or private control. These sub-categories of two-year institutions include: (1) rural, typically identified as single campus institutions in rural areas with comprehensive offerings; (2) suburban, tending toward liberal arts and transfer curricula; (3) urban/inner city emphasizing vocational offerings leading to immediate employment; (4) metropolitan area district, including those with centralized and decentralized governance; (5) colleges adjacent to a residential university; (6) a mix of the above categories; (7) Hispanic-serving institutions; (8) historically-Black two-year colleges; (9) tribally-controlled community colleges; (10) colleges devoted only to transfer and general education; (11) exclusively technical colleges; (12) private non-profit, including sectarian and non-sectarian; (13) private proprietary; and (14) community colleges directly administered by four-year institutions. (Contains 40 references.) (KP)

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TOWARD A CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM

FOR

COMMUNITY COLLEGES

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paper presentation
to the 1993 Annual Meeting
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April, 1993

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Toward a Classification System for Community Colleges

Abstract

The most widely accepted classification system of institutions of higher education in the United States was developed by Clark Kerr for the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in 1973. Updated twice with few changes in 1976 and 1987, Kerr's classification system has played an immensely important role in the development of the literature of higher education, due to the incremental nature of knowledge generation (and the thousands of dissertations and other studies that used them). Only the category of "Two-Year Institutions," which with 1,367 had the largest number of institutions of any category, had no identifiable sub-category. The lack of precision regarding the identification of two-year institutions has inhibited the general understanding of the diversity among and between community colleges, their missions, functions, curricula, students, and faculty, especially since most of the published research related to community colleges is produced at doctoral-granting institutions instead of at two-year colleges themselves. Identifiable types of two-year colleges are discussed, followed by a discussion of issues related to the proposed system.

Toward a Classification System for Community Colleges

Introduction

In an effort to promote discussion and debate, this article presents a discussion of classification systems of community colleges, and proposes **fourteen** identifiable, institutionally distinctive types of two-year institutions as a necessary precursor toward the creation of a classification system for community colleges. This paper begins with a discussion of the classification system developed by the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC), however the classification system initially developed by Clark Kerr for the Carnegie Commission for Higher Education in 1973 is most relevant to discussion here, due to its wide acceptance by researchers and policy makers internal and external to the field of higher education. The primary focus of this paper is to propose the outlines of a classification system for the nation's 1,367 two-year colleges that better accounts for the great diversity that exists among these institutions, as a means to gain greater precision in the literature of higher education. Between January, 1985 and June, 1992, there were 2,436 published doctoral dissertations that could be accessed in the Dissertation Abstracts International data base using the key words "community college." Argued here is the view that the lumping all two-year colleges together has inhibited our understanding of the diversity among and between community colleges, their missions, functions, curricula, students, and faculty, and that the field has evolved to the point where a generally accepted and meaningful classification system of two-year colleges can be proposed. The paper begins with presentation of the classification systems for two-year colleges developed by the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC), followed by discussion of the Carnegie Classification system and the presentation of identifiable types of community colleges as a beginning point for discussions in the field.

The AACC classification system

The American Association of Community Colleges (AACC) was founded in 1920 as the American Association of Junior Colleges. Two of the more important reasons two-year colleges choose

Table I
The American Association of Community Colleges Classification System,
by type of governance and number

Multi-college districts, such as the Los Angeles Community College District and the City Colleges of Chicago: 387 institutions

Colleges within multi-college districts, such as West Los Angeles College (a member of the Los Angeles Community College District) or Harold Washington College (a member of the City Colleges of Chicago)

Multi-campus colleges, such as Miami-Dade Community College (Florida) or Northern Virginia Community College: 202 institutions

Campuses of multi-campus colleges, such as Miami-Dade Community College-Wolfson Campus and Northern Virginia Community College-Alexandria_____

University branch campuses offering the associate degree, such as Kent State University-Ashtabula, or Louisiana State University-Alexandria_____

Single institutions, that are not part of multi-campus or multi-college districts.

TOTAL NUMBER = 1,158 institutions

TOTAL FTE ENROLLMENT in 1991: 2,028,262

SOURCE: Office of Research, American Association of Community Colleges
(Note: as of January 22, 1993, AACC was able to cite exact data for only several of the categories).

to join AACC are its advocacy role in Washington, D.C., and the wide range of professional development opportunities it provides. The various classifications described in Table 1, "The American Association of Community Colleges Classification System," correspond with membership dues, which are based upon a formula that uses full-time equivalent enrollment plus three-fourths of part-time student enrollment. There were 1,158 institutions who were members of AACC as of 1991; the institutions are grouped into three categories which are defined by the institutions themselves: Rural, 430 institutions; Suburban, 394 institutions; and Urban, 400 institutions (it is important to note that the numbers do not add due to the membership of certain branch campuses). The AACC also publishes a Directory each year, which organizes community colleges according to type of control, as shown in

Table 1, above.

There are also 16 AACC-affiliated councils which provide individuals opportunities to participate with AACC beyond official institutional representation. Affiliated councils are recognized for three-year periods, after which time a requests for renewal is submitted. Four AACC councils are relevant here in that they represent types of community colleges that appear to be distinctive: The Council of Two-Year Colleges of Four-Year Institutions; the Council of Small-Rural Colleges, which has 430 members; the Commission on Independent Colleges, consisting of the 183 private two-year colleges; and the Commission on Urban Community Colleges, which has 400 member institutions. Unfortunately, for researchers and students performing doctoral dissertations, the AACC classification scheme is of little value, in that other than disaggregating by public and private for each category and accounting for size, the categories are not very discrete, with the possible exception of the small-rural community colleges and the two-year colleges at four-year institutions.

The Carnegie Classification System

The most well-known classification system in higher education was developed by Clark Kerr for the Carnegie Commission for Higher Education. First published in 1973, they are commonly referred to as the Carnegie classifications, and had as their primary purpose to improve the quality and precision of the Carnegie Commission's research. Over its seven year life, the Carnegie Commission produced 21 policy reports and more than 80 sponsored research projects, including books, monographs, and technical reports on a myriad of aspects of higher education (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1975). To this day, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education remains the most comprehensive series of reports ever developed on the subject of American higher education. The Carnegie classification system was updated by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in 1987, with another updated edition scheduled for release in 1993.

According to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the five major institutional categories and the number of institutions within each category in 1987 were as follows: Doctoral-Granting Institutions, 213; Comprehensive Colleges and Universities, 595; Liberal Arts

Table Two
The Carnegie Classification System of Institutions of Higher Education, 1987
by Major Category and Sub-category

	Number of Institutions		
	Total	Public	Private
Doctoral-Granting Institutions	**213**	**134**	**79**
Research Universities I	70	45	25
Research Universities II	34	26	8
Doctoral-Granting Universities I	51	30	21
Doctoral-Granting Universities II	58	33	25
Comprehensive Colleges and Universities	**595**	**331**	**264**
Comprehensive Universities I	424	284	140
Comprehensive Universities II	171	47	124
Liberal Arts Colleges	**572**	**32**	**540**
Liberal Arts Colleges I	142	2	140
Liberal Arts Colleges II	430	30	400
Two-Year Institutions	**1,367**	**985**	**382**
Specialized Institutions	**642**	**66**	**576**
Medical Schools	56	32	24
Other Health Professions	40	2	38
Teachers	7	1	6
Engineering and Technology	31	8	23
Business and Management	44	1	43
Arts, Music and Design	63	4	59
Theological	309	0	309
Law	19	1	18
Corporate Colleges	21	0	21
Other Specialized	52	17	35
TOTAL, ALL INSTITUTIONS	**3,389**	**1,548**	**1,841**

NOTE: Under the major category, "Specialized Institutions," in the sub-category "Other Specialized," the eight United States service schools are included with the other public specialized schools.

SOURCE: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. 1987. A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education. Table 4, p. 5

Colleges, 572; Two-Year Institutions, 1,367; and Specialized Institutions, 642. As Table II, "Categories and Sub--Categories of the Carnegie Classification System, 1987" shows, there are major sub-categories within four of the five separate classifications, which factor to various degrees institutional selectivity, number and level of degrees awarded, type of degree awarded, and function and purpose. *Only the "Two-Year Institutions" category, which, with 1,367 has the single largest number of institutions (1,367) of any category, has no sub-categories at all* (Carnegie, 1987). The number 1,367 is roughly equal to the 1,380 total of the major categories of four-year institutions (Doctoral Granting, Comprehensives, and Liberal Arts) presented in Table II. The number of major categories and major sub-categories listed in the 1987 edition remained unchanged from the original release of the classification system in 1973, with two notable exceptions: The major category "Institutions for Non-traditional Study," which appeared initially in the 1976 edition, was dropped; and the sub-category "Corporate Colleges" was added to the major category "Specialized Institutions" in the 1987 edition (Carnegie, 1987).

The evolution of a generally accepted classification system has been a significant contribution to the development of the literature of higher education. While those who specialize in community college research recognize this contribution, the Carnegie classifications clearly lose precision when applied to two-year institutions due to the "lumping factor. It appears that two interrelated strands of criticism have emerged, one focusing on what the classifications miss completely, the other on what they undercount or miscount. To the former, some might argue that the Carnegie classifications create and maintain a "pecking order" that favors the "rich and famous" research universities above all others, as if this function is more important than other functions within the diverse, loosely-coupled system of U.S. higher education (Kerr, 1990). In this regard, the classification system considers level of degrees awarded and selectivity in the case of liberal arts colleges, without considering the types of students served (most prominently socio-economic status, first-generation, and historically underserved racial and ethnic groups). Astin's writings on "reputationally-based excellence" would seem consistent with these kinds of criticisms (Astin, 1985, and Astin and Mankiller, 1992).

Those who would criticize the undercounting or miscounting likely include administrators from institutions who would have wished for a higher ranking among the "pecking order" of the various categories of four-year institutions. These critics might cite usage by Carnegie of National Science Foundation data in assessing research dollars awarded to colleges and universities, in that the NSF might undercount grants for training and service functions as well as programs earmarked directly by Congress to institutions. Along this same line, in the 1987 edition Table 6, "Shifts in classification categories between 1976 and 1987 by institution type," listed in its heading each of the four specific sub-categories for Doctoral-Granting Institutions, and each of the two sub-categories for Comprehensive Universities and Colleges and Liberal Arts Colleges, while listing no sub-categories for either Two-Year and Specialized Institutions. For many institutions, it would appear that the beauty of one's classification is in the eye of the beholder.

Some criticism of the Carnegie classification system likely derives from those who criticize perceived general deficiencies of the works of the Carnegie Commission itself. None of the 21 policy reports and 80-plus policy studies completed between 1967 and 1973, for example, dealt with Hispanic-Americans (Katsinas 1985, 49), for example. Only one study, Breaking the Access Barriers: A Profile of Two-Year Colleges (Carnegie 1971), dealt directly with issues related to community colleges, despite the fact that by 1970 community colleges enrolled nearly 2.5 million students (Community, Junior and Technical College Directories, various years, in Cohen and Brawer 1989, 33). A review of the titles of the various works of the Carnegie Commission studies appears to support the view that greater emphasis was placed upon issues related to the context of the research university (resources for research, faculty at research institutions, etc.) than the context of the community colleges. In addition, the very factors used to create the Carnegie categories and sub-categories indicate a higher level of detail not found in the discussion of two-year colleges, wherein all were lumped together. Factors considered for four-year institutions included federal research dollars awarded, level of degrees awarded, type and number of degrees awarded, and selective nature in admissions. For example, comprehensive universities and colleges are termed "comprehensive" by Carnegie because they award

more than half of their baccalaureate degrees in more than one occupational or professional disciplines (1987).

From the perspective of those actively engaged in research related to the community college, the lumping of all 1,387 two-year institutions into a single classification category has impeded the incremental advance of the knowledge base regarding these institutions, the people who work in them, and the students whom they serve. In this context, despite all of the abovementioned concerns, perhaps the greatest contribution of the Carnegie rankings is not that they made the Carnegie Commission's research more precise (Kerr's stated objective), but rather the much greater effect resulting from the cumulative nature of knowledge generation. This cumulative nature has been shown in the thousands of doctoral dissertations published since 1976 that likely used the Carnegie classification system to narrow the research topic. On top of this would be the innumerable studies of faculty, students, staff, and other issues performed by academics, foundations, and funded studies supported by the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education and the Department of Education. In fact, nearly every national report and data set from the National Center for Education Statistics, the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, and other federal agencies lump all two year colleges in together, as if there was no significant difference in mission between Miami-Dade Community College, a metropolitan community college district whose five campuses enrolled 75,396 students generating 1,129,281 credits in the 1989-1990 academic year (Miami-Dade Community College Fact Book, 1990), and Allen County Community College in Iola, Kansas, whose 1,700 students generated just about 850 full-time equivalent credits (Allen County Community College Catalog, 1990-1992). The reality is far different than the lumping would indicate; in truth much of the institutional climate and culture of Miami-Dade has more in common with an urban doctoral granting university than it does with a small, rural community college. The development of identifiable types of community colleges that can be conceptualized for comparison purposes would enhance our understanding of the subject, and eliminate some of the more egregious examples of lumping that now occurs.

Diversity In Function and Mission Among, Between and Within the States

There is great diversity among and between community colleges in the United States. Community colleges differ by geographic location, structure of governance, institutional mission and educational function, type of student served, and funding pattern. The history of development of community colleges in North and South Carolina, for example, has had a much greater emphasis on technical, vocational and occupational education than has the system developed in Illinois or Michigan (Fountain and Tollefson, 1989). Still, there appears to many leading scholars on the community college a consistency of functions: Cohen and Brawer have identified five basic functions to be academic transfer preparation (ie., non-major related freshman and sophomore general education courses), vocational education (or technical or occupational education), continuing education, developmental education (or remedial, college preparatory, or compensatory education), and community service. "All have been present in the public colleges from the start," they noted, and these functions have been included "in every book written" about these institutions (1989 16). The presence of all of these functions within the literature and within many of the institutional mission statements masks the diversity of mission that exists at the state and local levels. As Louis W. Bender noted in the introduction to Fountain and Tollefson's study Community Colleges in the United States: Forty-Nine State Systems, "Actually, there are 49 unique systems (or non-systems, in some cases)" (1989, p. viii.). There is also diversity within states and across county lines.

The State of Florida, long recognized as a bellwether state in the planning and development of its community colleges, provides good example of this diversity of assigned mission. The first public community college established in Florida was Palm Beach Junior College (now Palm Beach Community College), in 1933 (Fountain and Tollefson, 1989 44). Following the plan for junior college education laid out by James L. Wattenbarger in his 1948 doctoral dissertation, 28 separate community college districts with well-defined service delivery area boundaries were established (Wattenbarger, 1948). All 28 of these institutions were created as extensions of the existing public school systems with advisory boards reporting to the county school boards, along the lines suggested in the 1944 publication of the

National Education Association's Commission on Educational Policies, Education for ALL American Youth (1944). In 1968, legislation was passed in Florida that provided for the creation of independent boards of trustees, and by 1972, 28 community colleges districts were in place that provided access to 99 percent of the state's citizens within easy commuting distance (Fountain and Tollefson, 1989 44).

At the time of the separation, the new community colleges and the existing public school systems had to divide up existing programs. Vocational programs became a sticking point; with the influx of significant federal funding under the Vocational Education Act of 1963, many local school districts did not wish to let go of their vocational programs. According to the Florida Department of Education Directory, of the 28 community college districts in Florida, 15 are what would typically be thought of as "comprehensive" community colleges, with a full range of for-credit postsecondary vocational programs leading to the associate's degree, as well as non-credit postsecondary vocational programs leading to certification assigned to them in at least one of the counties in their service areas. The non-credit postsecondary vocational programs would typically include vocational programs that developed technicians in the industrial/heavy manufacturing economy of the immediate post-WWII period, including auto and diesel mechanics and the like, as well as cosmetologists and other vocational areas. At the other thirteen institutions, the local school systems kept the non-credit postsecondary vocational programs, with community colleges receiving only what the high schools decided what not to do (1990 112-113). Control therefore followed whichever entity governed the expenditure of federal vocational education funds. Thus, for community colleges districts in the State of Florida, a situation akin to a patchwork quilt exists, with an institution possessing a five county district assigned all of the postsecondary vocational funding and programs for three of the counties, and none for two.

Florida also divided its responsibilities for delivering adult basic education, adult high school, and GED preparation. According to the Florida Department of Education, ten of the 28 community colleges are responsible for delivering all of these services within their districts; for the other 18 these functions are assigned to high schools (1990 124-128). The extant heterogeneity within the state is

itself but another reflection of the great diversity among and between the community colleges. Thus, Miami-Dade Community College's mission is different than Broward Community College's or Florida Community College at Jacksonville's. As Cohen and Brawer noted "Community college programs do not stay in neat categories when the concepts underlying them are the purposes for which students enrolled in them are scrutinized." (1989 19). This point underscores the conclusion reached by Orfield and Paul in their study, "State Higher Education Systems and College Completion," wherein they noted that the structures of the states do impact overall outcomes (Orfield and Paul, 1992), and also demonstrates the need for further research regarding the diversity of structures within states.

Identifiable and Distinct Community Colleges

It is important to note that the distinctive community college types described below in Table III, "Institutionally Distinctive Types of Community Colleges," are based upon not only the author's research, but also his personal experience and observation in visiting 92 different community college campuses between 1986 and 1993 and teaching graduate level courses on the community college. As Table III shows, even without performing significant time consuming analysis using the "measurement tools" suggested, it still appears that fourteen specific types of community colleges are distinctive and identifiable, and worthy of being grouped together for analysis (identified by the asterisk "*"). The basic choice to be made if consensus is to be reached on a classification system of community colleges is whether one chooses standards that are based upon reputation and resources, or other measurement tools which might include governance (which AACC uses) or other groupings such as geographic location, type of special use, transfer rates, as well as additional data on students (perhaps through use of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System of the United States Department of Education) that measure socio-economic status, types of degrees and certificates awarded, and assigned institutional missions. Discussion is now turned to a brief description of the proposed fourteen institutionally distinctive types presented in Table III:

1. *The Rural Community College.* Of its 1,158 members in 1991-1992, AACC classified about 600

institutions as small and rural colleges, with 430 as being rural only. Since the institutions classify themselves, the AACC schematic is of little use to researchers and others attempting to conceptualize the subject, except for the rural classification. While the rural community college is typically characterized by a single campus institution with a single governing board of between five and nine members, there are exceptions, such as multi-campus rural community college districts including the Eastern Iowa Community College District in Davenport, or the Illinois Eastern Community College District in Olney.

The rural community college is the institution most closely resembling the community college idea promoted by Koos, Ells and other early community college pioneers of the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s (Koos 1924; Ells 1925). These early pioneers advocated the development of "comprehensive" junior colleges that would possess vocational as well as transfer curricula, with a strong emphasis on "democracy education" to prepare students for active participation among the citizenry of a democracy (Koos, 1944 and 1947). While many of the other kinds of community colleges mentioned below make invaluable contributions to the civic and cultural fabric of their respective service areas, in rural areas, this function would likely not be performed at all or as well without the involvement of the rural two-year college. For example, Northeast Alabama State Junior College, with a service area of 70,000 people, located in the mountainous northeast corner of the state, each year hosts the Alabama Shakespeare Festival to sellout audiences in its 1,200 seat gymnasium. Lurleen B. Wallace State Junior College, in Andalusia, Alabama, with its National Endowment for the Humanities-sponsored Speakers's Program, and Carl Albert Junior College in Poteau, Oklahoma, with its Carl Albert Lecture are two other examples of institutions which play leading roles in the cultural and civic life of the communities they serve by providing forums and debates for political candidates and a variety of theater and music programs. The vocational programs tend to be very closely tied to the labor market needs of the institutional service area, a reality which can cause severe problems during economic downturns. Many rural communities have in past years had a very high reliance on agricultural or extractive minerals, or possess just a few large manufacturing plants. The closing of a single plant or the decline of an

Table III
Institutionally Distinctive Types of Community Colleges

BY GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION:

Rural*
Suburban*
Urban/Inner City*
Metropolitan Area District, centralized and decentralized*
Adjacent to a residential university*
Mix

BY TYPE OF SPECIAL USE

Hispanic-Serving Institutions*
Historically Black Two-Year Colleges*
Tribally Controlled Community Colleges*
Technical Only*
Transfer/General Education Only*

BY TYPE OF GOVERNANCE

Single campus governing board
Multi-Campus, >1 campus reporting w/out system CEO to a single governing board,
Multi-Campus, >1 campus reporting to a system CEO to single governing board,
Multi-Campus, multi-level, decentralized
Multi-Campus, multi-level, centralized
Community College as directly administered college at a University*

BY TYPE OF CONTROL

Public
Private, non-profit*
Private, proprietary*

MEASUREMENT TOOLS:

By Type of Student Served (affixed number and percent)
Economically disadvantaged (Pell/Title IV recipients)
First-time-in-college
Historically underrepresented racial, ethnic, or gender group

By Type of Degree Awarded by the Institution (affixed number and percent)
Associate in Arts, Associate in Science, Associate in Applied Science, Certificates, GED/High School Equivalency, TOEFL

By Assigned Academic Program and Function (affixed number and percent)
General Education/Transfer only, Technical/Occupational/Vocational only, Developmental Education, Continuing Education, Community Services, Career Education/Job Training, Adult Literacy, and affixed mix thereof

NOTE: "*" connotes an institutionally distinctive type of community college.

industry can have catastrophic effects on the economy of a rural community college service area, such as the decline of the textile industry in the 1980s in the rural south. The decline of rural America's heavy manufacturing base described in a 1986 Southern Growth Policies Board commissioned report chaired by former Mississippi Governor and AACJC Board Member William F. Winter, Shadows of the Sunbelt: Developing the Rural South in an Era of Economic Change, challenges rural community colleges to develop and maintain sound vocational program offerings (Winter, 1986). Unfortunately, vocational curriculum changes involve a significant resource investment to "re-tool" faculty and provide the latest equipment for classroom use. Most states do not provide sufficient funding needed to accomplish this.

2. Suburban Community Colleges. Another clearly identifiable type of community college is the suburban community college. In the public mind, both in the press and public policy makers, these institutions are the dominant type of community college today. These institutions tend not to enroll quite as many first-time-in-college students, and their curriculum tends to be more oriented to liberal arts/transfer education and community services than its rural or urban/inner city cousins. Vocational offerings at suburban community colleges tend to focus on "high tech" areas, as opposed to the traditional welding and auto mechanics curricula that were characteristic of the community college in the twenty years following the close of World War II. This is also a reflection of the trend of newer businesses to locate in the suburbs as opposed to the central cities of the nation, as noted by the National Research Council (1988 12).

Patterns of funding likely reinforce the predominance of the suburban community college. Honeyman, Williamson, and Wattenbarger found that local funding increased in the highly urbanized states of California, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Texas between 1985-1986 and 1988-1989. Increased reliance on local property taxes is largely negative for public community colleges with low or declining property tax bases (both urban/inner city and rural), and positive for suburban community colleges which are located in areas where a great increase in new funding through very small increases in local property taxes can be generated, due to the much higher

assessed values of suburban property. For this reason, it can be theorized that students attending suburban community colleges will have more and better computers, exposure to computer interactive video learning systems, better equipped science laboratories, and vocational programs with the latest equipment used in the field. As James L. Wattenbarger, one of the nation's leading experts on the subject of community college finance, has noted, "those involved with the legislative process increasingly make decisions regarding the financing of the community college that contradict the philosophical base of the community college." (1990 vii). According to AACC, there are nearly as many suburban community colleges (394) as there are urban (400), compared to 430 rural institutions (1993).

3. Urban/Inner City Community Colleges. Another distinct type is the urban community college located in the inner city. These two-year colleges typically emphasize vocational and career education offerings that lead to more immediate employment, and have large numbers of students enrolled in developmental education courses. These are the institutions that have been most dramatically affected by the mass immigration into the United States of Hispanics and Asians during the decade of the 1980s. For many of these students, the community college serves as the modern Ellis Island, a welcoming station where the survival skills of language, customs, and culture needed to negotiate and participate in a new society can be gained. Immigration is itself one of the major reasons for the rise of developmental education at the community college. At many community colleges located in America's inner cities, it is not uncommon for developmental education to comprise upwards of 15 to 25 percent of the total credit hours generated. The author can speak to personally teaching a developmental English course at Miami-Dade Community College with 23 students from 14 different nations in the spring of 1988. "I get a multicultural experience every day," the comment of one history instructor to me, speaks to a faculty stimulated by the opportunity to work with students from so many diverse backgrounds and cultures.

L. Steven Zwerling, in Second Best - The Crisis of the Community College (1976), and Judith S. Eaton (1989 and 1992) cited a major concern associated with the inner city community college: The

high concentration of minority students and their relatively low rates of transfer to senior institutions, especially to the prestigious research universities whose degrees carry highest status for job market entry, as well as the length of time it takes to graduate from such institutions. According to the Illinois Board for Higher Education, for example, the seven two-year campuses of the City of Chicago Colleges system enrolled about 75 percent of all of the Hispanics engaged in higher education in the state of Illinois during the 1983-84 academic year. In the fall of that year, only 16 students from the entire City of Chicago community college system transferred to the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign while 34 transferred the other way (1984, Table IV-3).

At Miami-Dade Community College (M-DCC), long a flagship institution for community colleges nationally, approximately 65 percent of students who enrolled as first-time-in-college freshmen at M-DCC in the semester following graduation from the Dade County Public Schools showed a deficiency in one or more of the basic skills areas of mathematics, reading, and writing. Enrollment growth in developmental education courses has grown from about 60,000 credits in 1984-1985, or about 6 percent of the total credits generated collegewide (about 960,000) to about 130,000 or about 12 percent in 1988-1989 (1989 33). Indeed the institution does not report student success rates in two-year time blocks because the numbers of deficiently prepared students are so large, it makes no sense to do so. For this reason some question if the institutions should even be called "two-year" colleges. These kinds of data support Clifford Adelman's notion of two-year institutions as serving "occasional" roles, on an *ad-hoc* intermittent basis. (1992 22).

4. Metropolitan Area District, centralized and decentralized. Another distinctive community college is the metropolitan area community college, which can be distinctive based upon the level of centralization or decentralization measured by governance, as well as types of students served and assigned educational function. There is diversity among the multi-campus institutions in terms of governance; many urban and suburban two-year colleges are in fact multi-campus districts operating under a single board, or multi-campus districts that have one or two campuses that basically serve inner city students with another campus serving suburban students. M-DCC, for example, is a five-campus community

college operating under a single governing board with a districtwide administration. Miami-Dade's Wolfson Campus is located two blocks west of Biscayne Bay in the heart of downtown Miami and is a classic example of an inner city campus, while its massive South Campus in Kendall takes on the character of a suburban community college.

5. Community Colleges Adjacent to Residential Universities. One very distinct type of community college is located at or near a rural-based residential university. This type of two-year institution typically places a higher priority on transfer-oriented liberal arts/general education curricula than do other kinds of community colleges. Parkland College, located in the same community as the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; John A. Logan College, located within 10 miles of the Carbondale campus of Southern Illinois University; and Santa Fe Community College, located in Gainesville near the University of Florida, are all good examples of this type of institution. Typically, the headcount of the community college will be between one-fifth and one-third of the undergraduate enrollment at the nearby senior residential institution. Students at these community colleges are many times are intermittent in nature, taking a general education course here and there, perhaps to meet summer school requirements, perhaps also to avoid the much higher tuition of the senior institution. These community colleges have the challenge of maintaining a core of full-time faculty; at one of the aforementioned institutions visited by the author, the ratio of full- to part-time faculty is just one out of every five.

6. Mix There are many combinations of the various types described above.

7. Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs). The 1992 reauthorization of the federal Higher Education Act of 1965, as amended, contained language in its Title III Strengthening Developing Institutions grant program, the largest grant program within the Higher Education Act that goes directly to the institutions, which gave programmatic preference to institutions that had a student body that was at least 25 percent Hispanic. According to the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, as of 1992 there were 120 institutions that met the 25 percent minimum Hispanic student enrollment requirement, of which 60 were two-year and 60 were four-year institutions (Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities,

1993).

8. Historically-Black Two-Year Colleges. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, there were a total of 100 traditionally black institutions that received official designation by the Secretary of Education, of which 14 were classified as two-year colleges. Of the fourteen two-year institutions, five were publicly controlled, and nine were privately controlled (1982, Appendix 1). Most of these institutions are in the deep South, and were functioning prior to the 1954 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of Brown v. Topeka Board of Education.

9. Tribally-Controlled Community Colleges. The Tribally-Controlled Community Colleges Act was passed in 1977 as a response to the abysmally low rates of college attendance for Native Americans, and was authored by then-Congressman Paul Simon of Illinois and Senator Daniel K. Inouye of Hawaii. There are presently fourteen Tribally-Controlled Community Colleges serving primarily Native American Students. These institutions are typically located at or near Indian reservations in western states, and are directly administered by federally recognized tribe or tribes.

10. Transfer/General Education Only. This category has significant overlap with the category of private junior college, in that only a small number of publicly-controlled two-year colleges have no postsecondary technical education programs. Mitchell College in Connecticut and Walker Junior College in Alabama are good examples of privately-controlled two-year colleges which are almost exclusively devoted to general education and transfer.

11. Technical Education Only. Another distinct type of two-year college is the technical college. When initially established, these institutions possessed a very skeletal liberal arts general education transfer function, instead prioritizing vocational, occupational and technical education offerings. Several states, mostly in the south (the state systems of North and South Carolina, for example), placed very heavy emphasis on vocational-technical programs at the time of their founding, in an effort to bolster their states' manufacturing-based economies in the quarter-century following World War II. Curriculum at these institutions is necessarily a reflection of these values; recent years have seen many of these institutions expand their general education/liberal arts course offerings to support the growing numbers

of students who are taking vocationally-oriented programs and transferring to four-year institutions, as well as to support liberal arts transfers. Additionally, the demands for critical thinking skills in the workplace and formal education extending to the baccalaureate level have increased the number of students in purely college transfer programs even at these largely technical schools. Forsyth Technical Community College, located in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, only established its transfer division in 1989, and in 1991 had over 250 full-time students enrolled (1992).

12. Private (non-profit and non-sectarian, non-profit sectarian). Another institutionally distinct type is the privately-controlled two-year college. Within this sub-category there are three distinct types: Non-profit and non-sectarian, non-profit sectarian or church related, and proprietary. Private junior colleges were typically established by church evangelists, while early proprietary institutions were apprenticeship-oriented postsecondary trade schools growing out of the German *gymnasium* model. From the initial founding of junior colleges at the turn of the century until just before World War II, there were more private junior colleges than public ones. As of 1986-87, there were 162 private junior colleges in the United States who were members of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges. According to Cohen and Brawer, this number is down from the high watermark of 322 in 1947-48 (1989 11). The institutionally distinctive traits of both the private sectarian and private non-sectarian institutions is that they provide college preparatory and lower division undergraduate instruction, usually in the liberal arts, and usually emphasize the transfer function. Today most of these institutions are church-related, possess low faculty-student ratios, and emphasize liberal arts/general education transfer-oriented curriculum that leads to the Associate in Arts or Associate in Science degrees, as opposed to the Associate in Applied Science or Associate in Applied Technology degrees.

13. Proprietary. Proprietary, for-profit two-year colleges are a particularly important and interesting sub-category to track. For decades community college advocates have argued for access and the "open door," yet it is a highly arguable proposition whether or not community colleges actually served very many of the estimated four million recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children in 1987, as

Katsinas and Swender noted (1992 23). While the data on the subject is spotty, the proprietaries appear to have filled a significant void in the system without a significant negative impact on two-year institutional enrollments.

14. Two-Year Colleges at Four-Year Institutions. Community colleges differ significantly by the type of governance, with the typical example a single institution with a single governing board. This is contrasted to a multi-campus community college system, which can either be highly centralized with a single CEO reporting directly to the governing board, or to highly decentralized, with the two, three, or four campus CEOs reporting directly to the board. There are multi-campus, multi-level institutional systems, with varying degrees of centralization and decentralization, with two- and four-year colleges reporting to a single governing board. According to the American Council of Education, as of 1980, the University of South Carolina System operated nine campuses, of which five (located in Allendale, Beaufort, Lancaster, Sumter, and Union) were two-year, associate degree granting campuses. There were twenty-three campuses in the Pennsylvania State University system in 1980, of which seventeen were two-year institutions. The City University of New York operated in 1980 twelve senior institutions, seven community colleges, and the two-year New York City Technical College (1983). The Board of Regents of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges serves as the governing board for four institutions and seven campuses; one two-year campus CEO reports directly to the board, while two other two-year campus CEOs report to the President of Oklahoma State University. The Council of Two-Year Colleges at Four-Year Universities, an AACC-affiliated council for well over thirty years, is comprised of member two-year colleges directly administered by universities. These two-year colleges are institutionally distinct programmatically, in that they have typically segmented themselves from other two-year colleges by offering higher levels of two-year technical training in areas such as avionics and radiography. Within this context, the College of Technical Careers at Southern Illinois University, initially established in 1947, served as one of the first "modern," community colleges in downstate Illinois during the period after World War II, according to Mitchell (1987). An internal, unpublished study by Harry G. Miller, Dean of the College of Technical Careers, in 1984 revealed 76 universities in the

United States that offered both the Associate's degree and the doctoral degree. Two-year colleges at four-year institutions are clearly an institutionally distinctive type of community college.

Discussion

The lack of generally accepted classifications of community colleges has hindered our understanding about two-year colleges. This is true for two reasons. First, much of the published research on community colleges is produced at doctoral-granting institutions by professors of higher education, sociology, and other academic fields, instead of by the two-year institutions themselves. Second, given the small size of most higher education faculties and the even smaller number of researchers who specialize on subjects related to community colleges, the lack of generally accepted classification sub-categories for community colleges has impinged the ability of dissertation directors from incrementally adding through dissertation advisement greater understanding about what is known about two-year colleges, the people who work in them, and the students they serve.

This lack of definition of two-year colleges will likely impinge policy makers internal and external to higher education. For example, policy makers within the Clinton Administration who advocate better integration of the nation's largest delivery system of formal education to adults (the community colleges) into their new work force development initiatives, including youth opportunity centers for high school dropouts, GED training for all who desire it, and the development of European-style apprenticeship programs are inhibited in part due to the diversity among and between two-year colleges and the general lack of understanding regarding mission.

The development of a community college classification system would expedite the creation of more explicit measurements by which to assess institutional transfer and social mobility. The Transfer Assembly, a Ford Foundation-sponsored project, has as its purpose the determination of a national rate of transfer based upon a definition of completing at least 12 hours at the community college and transfer to the senior institution within four years. The Transfer Assembly reported a national transfer rate of about 23 to 25 percent after four years for the period 1987 to 1989. The existence of

identifiable types of community colleges would enable projects such as the Transfer Assembly and the National Center for Academic Achievement and Transfer (another Ford Foundation-sponsored project) to more exactly hone in on what works where, and why, in an effort to promote transfer. Similarly, those who criticize community colleges as places that either impede social mobility, as do Brint and Karabel (1990) or do not do all that can be done to promote it, as does Zwerling (1976) would have yardstick by which to measure, and nearly any measurement--however imprecise--would be better than what exists now.

In defense of Kerr, the Carnegie Commission for Higher Education, and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, it is arguable that community colleges as a set of institutions did not really emerge into prominence until the post-Vietnam Era. In a communication with the author, Kerr indicated that developing a classification system that would include community colleges was considered briefly when the original 1973 version was developed, but was considered "too complicated for us" [to do] (1993). The difficulties Kerr and the Carnegie Commission encountered were recognized by Medsker and Tillery in their 1971 Carnegie Commission study, Breaking the Access Barriers, when they noted that

> Whether the community college can and will maintain a sufficiently comprehensive program as a means of serving its diverse student body is still an unanswered question. There is by no means universal commitment, either at the faculty or state planning levels. While most states now have specifications for the development of two-year colleges, the plans frequently are not well integrated with an overall plan for education beyond the high school....It seems inconceivable that, with nearly 40 percent of all beginning college students entering such institutions, almost every state would not by now have taken firm steps toward planning." (Medsker and Tillery, p. 93).

While the number of institutions and students served greatly expanded throughout the Cold War era, the modern era for community colleges can be said to really have begun in earnest with the greatly expanded student aid programs resulting from the Higher Education Act of 1965 and the Education

Amendments of 1972, which dramatically lowered the marginal cost for student access to higher education, along with the coinciding return of Vietnam War veterans and societal demands for lifelong learning. According to various data from AACJC summarized by Cohen and Brawer, in the fall of 1968, there were 1.9 million students enrolled at 993 two-year colleges (1989 33). In their 1971 Carnegie Commission study Medsker and Tillery projected two-year college enrollments by 1980 to be between 3 and 4.4 million students--by 1980 the number was 4.8 million, well over the high prediction of their Carnegie Commission study (1971). With well over 5 million students enrolled at two-year institutions in the fall of 1992, and the growing literature on state systems of community colleges, thanks to the work of Fountain, Tollefson, and others (1989), it would appear that the time is ripe for the development of a classification system of two-year colleges. It is hoped that publication of this article will further debate and discussion to help bring a classification system to fruition.

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